

Table XVIII

3. Possession of Western Material Goods. Do you have the following items: wrist watch, bicycle, radio, photographs of yourself, horse?

	Wrist Watch			Bicycle			Radio			Photographs		Horse		
	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	had	no	yes	no	yes	had	no
Aristocracy	4	1	-	2	1	2 ^{aa}	3	-	2	5	-	4	1	-
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	-	3	-
Canteen Operators	2	1	3	3	-	3	3	-	3	5 ^{ab}	1	5 ^{ac}	1	-
NA Malams	6	-	-	5	-	1	6	-	-	6	-	4 ^{ad}	-	2
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	6	-	-	6	-	6	6	-	-
Craftsmen	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	6	2	4	1	4	1
Talaka	-	4	4	1	1	6	-	-	8	1	7	-	3	5
Low-status Individuals	-	1	3	-	1	3	-	-	4	-	4	1	2	1
Totals:	13	11	20	11	5	28	12	-	32	19	25	21	14	9

^{aa} one of the aristocrats doesn't own a bicycle, but owns two automobiles.

^{ab} four of the five traders have had passport photographs taken of themselves.

^{ac} one trader does not really own a horse, but one is available to him.

^{ad} two of the NA Malams own horses which are being used by people in other towns; they do not use them.

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[441] own and keep a wrist watch. They also differ from the group of Canteen Operators who could easily afford a wrist watch, though only two in the group own watches. Essentially the same pattern is repeated in the next column (ownership of a bicycle), but as a bicycle is much more expensive than a wrist watch, many fewer people own or have owned a bicycle. Those who own a bicycle are to be found in three groups: Aristocracy, Canteen Operators, and NA Malams, except for one Talaka [92] who also owns a bicycle. In two of the groups none of the individuals have ever owned a bicycle: the Koranic Malams and the Kabuna. In the case of the Kabuna, whose work is so closely tied to their possession of a horse, it is clear why they have never owned bicycles.

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Radios are expensive items, though not as expensive as bicycles. On the other hand their usefulness is much more limited. Possession is limited entirely to the three groups who predominated in the previous columns: the Aristocrats, the Canteen Operators and the NA Malams, and of the three groups the NA Malams outdistance the others since all members of the group own a radio. Another factor must be mentioned at this point. The Nigerian Broadcasting Company broadcasts in the Kanuri language for only one hour each week. However, broadcasting in Hausa is very frequent, and of course English language broadcasts can be found constantly on various bands of the short-wave radio. For one who speaks only Kanuri, therefore, a radio is of only moderate usefulness. In the three

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Table XVIII lists the possession of various items, which have been introduced from the Industrial West, by the eight groups. However, the purchase of these items is severely limited in some of the groups by their relative poverty. A more reasonable measure would be knowledge about these items rather than mere possession, since while all groups are not equally able to obtain the various items, knowledge about their use is not restricted in this manner. It can be seen in Table XIX that although the groups that own bicycles (Aristocracy, Canteen Operators and NA Malams) naturally also know how to ride them, many other individuals throughout the sample (more than one-half, in all) also possess this knowledge. In fact, four of the eight Talaka know how to ride a bicycle, although only two have ever owned a bicycle. An even larger percentage of the sample (66 per cent) can tell time, and this knowledge is spread throughout all the groups in the sample. There are only two groups, however, where all individuals are able to tell time. These are the Aristocracy, and the NA Malams.

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Knowledge of how to tell time is of itself a rather mechanical thing. Individuals who can tell time can read the hours and minutes on the face of a watch or clock. To grasp the usefulness of this knowledge is something else again. The members of the sample were therefore asked to tell what they considered the usefulness of a wrist watch to be. Their replies, which appear in Table XX, were grouped into four categories, and presented in columns A, B, C, and D. Occasionally

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Table XIX

4,5. Knowledge about Western Material Items.

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	Can you ride a bicycle?		Can you tell time?	
	yes	no	yes	no
Aristocracy	4 ^a	1	5	-
Koranic Malams	1	2	1	2
Canteen Operators	4 ^b	2	4	2
NA Malams	5	1	6	-
Kabuna	2	4	3	3
Craftsmen	2	4	4	2
Talaka	4	4	5	3
Low-status Individuals	1	3	2	2
Totals:	23	21	30	14

[576] ^a one of the aristocracy (Yerima) stated that he doesn't ride a bicycle though he knows how to, because it isn't dignified.

^b one of the canteen traders stated that though he knows how to ride a bicycle, he doesn't ride, but travels on horse.

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*829 this respect, and the Aristocracy, with their high proportion
805 of complex answers (D) are the most acculturated. The Canteen
*463 Operators are in the lower middle of the eight groups.
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Just as mere possession of a wrist watch and knowledge of how to tell time were not as revealing as a question about the usefulness of a watch, so, too, possession of a bicycle and knowledge of how to ride a bicycle are less revealing than the attitudes that people hold toward the bicycle. In this case the individuals in the sample were asked to compare a bicycle with a horse as to the relative usefulness of the two, and were then asked which of the two they would rather own. A good bicycle and a good horse cost approximately the same price in Geidam, and are in a sense comparable. The results of this question appear in Table XXI. Most people thought the horse more useful (28), some chose the bicycle (9), and a number stated that the two served different functions (7). Among the reasons offered in favor of a horse were the following: the horse can travel in the bush and can go from one town to another; the horse is the more useful in traveling to other markets; the horse requires no repairs, is useful for racing and ceremonial activity; possession of a horse is more prestigious. One craftsman stressed these latter qualities of a horse, saying, "If you ride a horse, everyone turns and looks at you. You're a big man." The reasons given in support of a bicycle include: a bicycle is more useful in the town; it's faster; it requires no care and little trouble; in particular it doesn't have to be fed

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Table XXI

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825 7, 8. Comparison of horse and bicycle: which is more useful;
829 which would you rather have.
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	Which is more useful?			Rather have	
	horse	bicycle	different	horse	bicycle
Aristocracy	3	1	1	2	3
Koranic Malams	1	2	-	2	1
Canteen Operators	3	2	1	3	3
NA Malams	3	1	2	3	3
Kabuna	5	-	1	5	1
Craftsmen	6	-	-	6	-
Talaka	4	2	2	5	3
Low-status Individuals	3	1	-	3	1
Totals:	28	9	7	29	15

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*177 constantly. Frequently the respective merits of each were men-
*825 tioned. A Talaka states, "A horse doesn't go fast, while a bi-
*829 cycle goes fast. The horse has more prestige (dareja)." An-
*492 other Talaka says, "In town you can go far, deliver messages
*493 and return very rapidly with a bicycle. But for strolling
through the town a horse is better. You wear a large gown
(kulugu) and big pants--it's pleasant (ka'll)."

*177 The prestige of the horse is reflected in several of the
*825 answers to the question: do you know how to ride a bicycle?
*829 Two individuals specifically indicated that although they knew
*492 how to ride, they did not ride a bicycle as it was not digni-
*493 fied (see Table XIX). Turning to the question of which one would
*554 rather have, a horse or a bicycle, two groups (Kabuna and Crafts-
*634 men) reveal themselves as particularly conservative and over-
*634 whelmingly choose the horse. It has already been noted that
the horse is of particular importance to the Kabuna. Their
*562 reasons for selecting the horse are apparent. On the other
hand, the Aristocracy are also closely tied to ceremonial ac-
tivities involving the horse, yet they are the only group in
which more choose the bicycle (3) than the horse (2). It would
appear that the Aristocracy are in no doubt about the prestige
due them, and lean more strongly towards some of the other fac-
tors which favor the bicycle.

*177 Several other measures concerning the adoption of Western
*276 items were attempted. Among them were smoking cigarettes and
*273 drinking beer. Drinking alcoholic beverages, including Euro-
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441 the NA Malam--yet the NA Malams are the more acculturated group overall. Trade was present in Kanuri society long before the coming of the British, but with increased Western contact new alternatives were introduced in the network of external trade. Some of the individuals who accepted these new alternatives had success in their trading ventures, and their abilities to rapidly master the new techniques involved led to even greater successes. Their very acceptance of these new alternatives represented a measure of acculturation, for they now interacted regularly with non-Kanuri managers of the trading companies, some of them Europeans. In the course of these new activities the successful Kanuri traders, who later became the operators of their own canteens, learned new trading skills and learned about the intricacies of the credit system through which so much buying and selling takes place. In addition, they learned to speak Hausa and became accustomed to dealing frequently with Hausas. As they became wealthier, their contacts with Western culture led them to acquire many of the new material possessions available in Geldam--in particular, bicycles and radios. Only two Kanuri in Geldam, both members of the Aristocracy, possessed automobiles at the time that this study was done. Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, had both a Chrysler sedan and a Land Rover, and the Alkali acquired a GM pick-up truck during that year. It can be predicted that the next member of the Geldam community to buy a car would be a member of the trading group, because of their wealth and because of their

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494 HIGHWAY TRANSPORT--use of highways for travel and transportation; animal and vehicular traffic; private and public transport systems (e.g., carting, stagecoaches, cab services, trucking, tramways, bus lines); organization; specialized personnel (e.g., drivers, carters, tram and bus conductors); fares and tolls; regulation (e.g., licenses, traffic rules); highway patrols; etc. See also:

Urban transportation facilities 36 Incidence of highway accidents 164, 165

Besides the interlocking cycles of local markets many villages and all cycles have links with the larger centers of the export-import trade of Bornu Province. If there are roads, trucks bring out goods and people from the city at least once a week and take back locally produced things to the city. Where there are no roads the camel caravan and donkey load do the same job they have done for centuries. Where the market is too small or too remote, then the interlocking nature of the cycle brings and takes goods to a larger place on a main route.

Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar of Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (the usual name for Maiduguri), he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday, or Monday markets which will take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant place in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain proper transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the province. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the rhythm of rural life and this in turn adds zest, interest, and excitement to market days. Beyond this rhythmical quality markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, marriages, births, circumcisions, and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale on the local market day, and gamblers hold card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods, but a festive occasion that is regarded as a welcome break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

Most markets have very little formal organization. Each one has its head man or "big man of the market" to whom disputes are referred, and if he cannot settle the disagreement, then it is taken to the head of the village or to the judge if the village boasts a regular Moslem court. In the capital city the market is so large and disputes so frequent that there is a special court nearby to handle market affairs. In the market itself, each variety of thing being sold has its own section, and, as in the village, the butcher's section is generally on the lee side (southwest) of the market site. In the larger villages market fees are taken from sellers who use the stalls, but this is uncommon in small centers where they just take the first one available as long as they restrict themselves to that section of the market given over to their particular type of selling.

Prices vary with the season, the time of day, and how common the item is. Taking the last point first, a fancy imported man's robe may have a relatively wide price range since not many people buy these, and the seller tries to charge as much as he can. At the other end are items like boxes of sugar cubes which everyone buys regularly. The prices of such items are well known and people do not haggle over them at all but simply give the money to the seller since both know the standard price. Some food commodities such as millet and guinea corn are sold in the Magumeri market at a flat price for a small gourd-full of grain, but the prices vary for a bag of grain over the year. In order to keep prices constant sellers simply vary the size of the gourd. In general, food prices rise during the growing season when they

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178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

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• 474 A number of material changes have been introduced which
have also had important ramifications. The first of these is
the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, car-
rying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities,
fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individ-
ual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks
pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach
a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[653] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are
maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
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312 Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in
[603] charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the dig-
ging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led
to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A
secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriv-
[543] ing village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
[651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks,
roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

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Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and importance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

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452**6. Internal trade.**

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geldam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. Goroma sell to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

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44 living in Geldam. They are involved in a dried-meat industry,
439 buying beef slaughtered in Geldam, where the price is low, and
563 curing it there. Since the price of cattle shipped south is
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• [498] raised appreciably by rail costs from nearby Nguru to Lagos,
it is cheaper to cure the meat in Geldam and ship the dried
meat directly by truck to southern cities. Rail freight costs
are so important that many Fulani herdsmen drive their herds to
Kano, some three hundred miles away, to save the freight charges.
44 This does not improve the quality of the beef. There is also
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563 a certain amount of regional trade in dried fish, since fish,
too, are plentiful in Geldam. The dried fish trade extends
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to Lake Chad, where small communities of Ibos can be found whose
livelihood comes from buying dried fish and shipping them south
by truck.

63 D. Political Organization on the Communal Level.

Bornu Emirate, the largest part of Bornu Province, is it-
self divided into twenty-one districts, each with its Ajia.

[462] Geldam is the largest district, with a population of 86,993,
covering an area of 2500-3000 square miles. The Ajia of Gel-
dam is Yerima Mustapha, and he resides in the town of Geldam,
the largest town in the district and consequently its admin-
istrative center.

1. The hierarchy of offices in Geldam.

64 The Bornu Native Authority was theoretically and now is

443 Magumeri for the Sunday market. Kachella feels that these people are his
 366 friends. On the other hand, although Kachella's market friends to the
 572 north are known to and known by his market friends to the south, they
 are not "friends" to one another. Again, the friends to the south
 have their own friends farther south at markets which Kachella rarely
 visits. Thus market cycles are overlapping, interlocking networks of
 social and economic relations which vary for each market town.

443 Beside the interlocking cycle of local markets, each town
 366 and/or cycle has some kind of link with a larger center of the export-
 439 import trade, the two largest being Maiduguri in the south, and Nguru
 [437] (the rail head) in the extreme northwest of the Emirate. Traditionally
 trading caravans set out from Maiduguri once every two weeks for re-
 mote market towns. Although less important today, these can still be
 • [494] seen. If there are roads, lorries bring people and goods from the
 larger centres early on market day and return at night or the next day
 with rural purchasers and travellers returning to or visiting the large
 urban centre.

443 One of the chief features resulting from this system of
 366 distribution is that markets on motor roads assume primary importance
 494 while those back in the bush are becoming secondary, and are less well
 attended. However, the interlocking nature of the rural market cycles
 makes for ease of communication and distribution in the region as a
 whole, and this is accentuated by the direct links with the centre and
 the modern use of lorries as the primary means of transport.

366 The relation between market towns and population size is
 494 indirect. Very few market towns in Bornu have population aggregates
 161 of under one thousand, while the presence of a market and, more im-
 [162] portantly, a motor road tend to stimulate population growth. Thus pop-

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 ulation growth in itself may be said to lead to markets, and markets and transportation facilities, when present, "feed back" to stimulate further growth.

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 Markets, especially those on motor roads, tend to set the one pattern or rhythm of intersettlement communication and travel. Thus if Bukar or Magumeri wishes to take several bags of millet to Yerwa (Maiduguri) he knows that he can get a lorry at the Thursday, Sunday or Monday market, which can take him and his goods to the capital. Again if Bukar's sister is coming to visit him from the capital or some other distant town in Bornu, she will arrive on a market day. If a man's wife wishes to divorce him, or he her, she must wait until market day to leave him in order to obtain "proper" transportation back to her relatives if they live in some distant part of the state. Thus the market cycle plus the presence of lorries and roads determines a large part of the temporal movement of rural life. This, of course, adds zest, interest and excitement to market day. Beyond the temporal categorization of [203] events, markets are also major sources of news and gossip about politics, [273] marriages, births, circumcisions and deaths. Pagans brew beer for sale [525] on the local market day, and gamblers hold (illicit) card games in the nearby bush area. Gambling, strangers, new bits of gossip, perhaps a new woman or two, drummers and entertainers, all contribute and create not just an ordinary day for buying and selling goods but a festive occasion which is regarded as a break or relief in the daily monotony of rural life.

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 [632]
 Each local market has its head man (mala kasube) to whom disputes are referred. If he is unable to settle the disagreement, then the disputants are taken to either the Lawan (Village Head) of the market town, or the judge, if the town boasts a court. In Maiduguri, there

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648 expect from the Europeans whose consistency was an expression of the British sub-cultural unity. This balance was upset by the second world war, whose post-war boom and the Nigerian independence movement wrought rapid changes in the contemporary scene in Bornu.

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178 At the peasant level, changes have not been cataclysmic. The ending of the slave trade and the pacification of the country from constant wars, especially the remembered ravages of Rabah, are frequently referred to by the peasants as the most valued changes which have been

[433] instituted since the coming of the British. However, from an analytical point of view, the universal spread of a cash economy and the production of cash crops to all levels of the peasant society during the last fifty years is a significant development of no less importance than the conscious value placed upon the pacification. With minor exceptions the arrival of the European has not changed the social relations between the peasant and his fellows, and between the peasant and the

• [494] chiefs. The development of roads, and the coming of the "lorries" allowed for more mobility, and has slowly expanded the possibilities of settlement for the Kanuri peasant to include not only all of Bornu, but the entire Northern Region, at least for the more adventurous. However, house types, methods of farming, law, religion, local social organization, and most importantly basic values, have continued in the time honoured manner of the past.

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441 The introduction of the few European trading houses has served as a stimulus of profound and continuing effect in the total Bornu society. It has brought the Arab-speaking middlemen who absorb a large proportion of available credit, which the Companies use as a primary item of competition due to the lack of local capital for investment in the area. The trade, and its outside capital, has intro-